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Professor Sidney J. Chapman's *The Lancashire Cotton Industry* as a careful analysis of a great modern industry.

M. B. HAMMOND.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*The Dominican Order and Convocation: a Study of the Growth of Representation in the Church during the Thirteenth Century.* By Ernest Barker, M.A. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. 83.) Mr. Barker's little book is not merely, as its title implies, a contribution to ecclesiastical history, though it is that certainly. It is also a suggestion as to the origin of the idea of representation in the history of the English Parliament. The origin of the idea Mr. Barker finds in certain practices of the Dominicans, begun almost immediately after their organization and first copied, as seems probable, in the English church in 1226 and afterwards adopted in the organization of Convocation. He also traces a possible line of influence of these ideas upon public men, like Stephen Langton and Simon de Montfort, and thinks that through them the idea may possibly have been applied in the first beginnings of political representation. That representation may have originated in the Church and been borrowed by the State is not a new suggestion. What Mr. Barker has done is to show in specific cases how it began and was developed in the Church, and how it may have passed over to the State. The book is an important contribution to the constitutional history of the thirteenth century thoroughly and cautiously worked out. When the history of the representative system is finally written, a clear distinction must be made between the origin of the idea on one side, and on the other the existing institutional forms which were taken hold of to carry the idea out. This distinction Mr. Barker has overlooked as may be seen in his note on Stubbs on page 53. Stubbs has in mind the institutional origins throughout his account, and these, the jury, the assemblies to report on the sheriffs, the use of the knights in taxation, etc., must all be carefully studied. In the account of the case of 1254, the suggestion as to the earlier institutional forms employed in sending up the county delegations in my *Origin of the English Constitution* (pp. 320-324) is not referred to. Whether that suggestion will finally stand the test of criticism or not, the evidence for it is such that it must be taken into account upon the institutional side. Professor A. B. White's detailed working out in this REVIEW for October, 1911, of the explanation of the assembly of 1213 briefly proposed in note 70, page 53, has also escaped the author's notice. In its attitude towards parallel Continental institutions, the book is a sign of a new epoch, as is especially the sentence: "We have learned of late not to contrast English with continental feudalism, but to see in both the same plant growing under somewhat different conditions" (p. 76).

G. B. ADAMS.

*Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo.* By Mario Emilio Cosenza, Ph.D., Instructor in Latin in the College of the City of New York. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1913, pp. xiv, 330.) The title of this book is misleading. The reader expects to find an historical study, and, instead, discovers that Dr. Cosenza is only continuing the commendable task, commenced in his *Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors*, of familiarizing English readers with the correspondence of the humanist poet. A translation of the few letters addressed or relative to the unfortunate political idealist of medieval Rome, takes up half of the book; the other half is devoted to illustrative material in the form of the introductions and notes to these letters. The work of translating has been correctly done: a certain stiffness and laboriousness of style apes fittingly the artificiality and the rhetorical devices, the classical reminiscences of Petrarch's Latin works. The notes are timely and informing, and the author often supplements and corrects those in Fracassetti's edition and translation of Petrarch's letters. The author shows himself well qualified to elucidate the many allusions in his text to Latin literature and Roman history.

On the other hand, in the historical sketch, which serves as a framework to the translation and notes, Dr. Cosenza shows that he is unequal to his task. His slight acquaintance with this period of history, including the episode which interests him, does not fit him to set in its right perspective the relations of Petrarch and Cola di Rienzo, however limited in scope and personal those relations may seem. He only uses the obvious authorities on the subject of his book, without considering their different critical value, and some of the most important of the authorities are conspicuous by his failure to mention or use them. Thus Rodocanachi's work on Rienzo, published in 1888, marked a great step in advance over that of Papencordt, published in 1841, which is alone known to Dr. Cosenza, who is equally unaware of the existence of Brodach's critical edition of Rienzo's correspondence, the most important contribution ever made to the literature of the subject, albeit we still wait for its long-promised introduction. When the name of de Nolhac does not appear in a work devoted to Petrarch's Latin works, it is not surprising not to find mentioned in their appropriate places, *e. g.* (8) Petrarch's comment on a passage of St. Augustine, referring to the decline of the Roman Empire, which he wrote in his manuscript of the *De Civitate Dei*, in 1342, no doubt under the inspiration of his conversations with Rienzo (*Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, II. 198); (239) de Nolhac's note on the manuscripts of Livy in the papal library at Avignon, at the time when Rienzo was a captive there, and allowed to read his favorite historian (*op. cit.*, II. 11). With such omissions to note, it is not necessary to quarrel over the Latin form of the poet's name, or the peculiar habit of putting the references in the text instead of at the foot of the page.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

*Soldan-Heppe, Geschichte der Hexenprozesse.* Neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Max Bauer. (Munich, Georg Müller, [1912], pp. xvi, 564; 456.) Even since the publication, in 1900, of the scholarly book of Hansen, the older work of the church historian Soldan (1843) as revised and enlarged by his son-in-law, the not less eminent church historian Heppe (1880), has remained indispensable to the student of the history of witchcraft. For Hansen's book breaks off at 1540, before the witch-persecution had so much as reached its height; and, even for the period covered by Hansen's studies, the earlier work of scholars so able as Soldan and Heppe could not be ignored. But with every passing year the discovery of fresh materials and the publication of fresh studies has increased the need for a revising or a replacing of this one comprehensive history.

It is this need which the work now published undertakes to meet. The editor is well read in the literature of his subject, and everywhere he has used a free hand in cutting out old matter and inserting new. So far as readableness goes, the result is excellent, and the general reader, who seeks only to be informed as to the present state of knowledge, may well be grateful for it. But to the critical scholar the matter has another aspect. Nothing except the general phrases of his preface enables the student to discriminate between the changes of the editor and what is left of the original work. This was true also of the revision by Heppe; but the association of that reviser with the author had been so close and his training so similar that at least a certain integrity was ensured. The present editor, a stranger to his predecessors, writes from a notably different point of view. Even if his changes, like his effacement of the anti-Catholic tinge of the work, are wholly to the taste of a later scholarship, they make shadowy the book's claim to the name of "Soldan-Heppe". Might it not have been better—for all, at least, except the purse of its publisher—if the editor had written the wholly independent work which he was amply qualified to write?

But this is to impeach a custom, not an individual. Granted the wisdom of the custom, Herr Bauer has done his work intelligently. Whatever may be thought of the text of the new edition, there can be only welcome for the wealth of pictures which make its most striking difference from the old. The gathering of these has been a work, not only of diligence, but of scholarship. No such collection of the pictorial sources for the study of the witch superstition has ever been available; and not only old pictures galore, but title-pages, placards, documents, and pages of manuscripts, are here reproduced for the use of scholars. It is an awful exposure of the contents of our grandfathers' imaginations. Not even Scheible's *Kloster* is such a chamber of horrors. Alas, there is no index to them: one cannot be found at need, and they can be stolen from the volumes without detection. Like the absence of a date from the title-page, this suggests that the enterprise is primarily a publisher's.

G. L. B.

*Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.* Von Ludwig von Pastor. Sechster Band. *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Katholischen Reformation und Restauration: Julius III., Marcellus II. und Paul IV. (1550-1559).* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913, pp. xl, 723.) The qualities of the eminent historian of the popes no longer need description. His new volume covers an eventful decade, and with his usual thoroughness. Julius III. is clearly no hero to Herr von Pastor; but the short-lived Marcellus was a pope after his own heart, and between the two, as if to mark the transition to a new age, the historian has interpolated a fifty-page "portrayal of the city of Rome at the end of the Renaissance period". It is an historical guide-book of the first rank. But what is most consummate in the present volume is perhaps the insight and the fairness with which he can depict a Paul the Fourth. "A genuine Southron, with whom the thought is instantly a word, he let himself be led by the ebullitions of the moment into utterances which would be incredible, were they not vouched for by testimony which can not be impeached. And to his words answered deeds as hasty. On every side it was evident that Paul IV. was as lacking in knowledge of the world and of men as in the moderation and the shrewdness which were doubly needed in a time of transition and of ferment." And the historian shows how thus he alienated Spain, the Emperor, England, and his cardinals, and minces no words in censuring his abuse of Inquisition and of Index. "Yet the reign of Paul IV., despite all its blunders and misconceptions, marks an important stage in the history of the Catholic Reformation, for whose victory it prepared the way. . . . What the noble Adrian VI., last of the German Popes, had in vain attempted—the break with the evil tendencies of the Renaissance—the fiery Neapolitan achieved."

G. L. B.

*Henri IV., raconté par lui-même.* Choix de Lettres et Harangues publiées avec une Introduction. Par J. Nouaillac, Professeur agrégé de l'Université, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1913, pp. 391.) The seductive charm of Henry IV.'s personality has led M. Nouaillac, as it had previously led Dussieux, Gaudet, and others, to republish some of the king's letters. The 234 which he has selected contain nothing wholly new; they have all been printed before, mostly by Berger de Xivrey in the *Collection des Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*. But they have been selected with discrimination and taste, and give a vivid and satisfactory portrait of the king by his own hand. They stretch in time from a letter to his mother in 1566, when he was twelve years old, to one in 1610 when as a gray-beard he sought to recover the fugitive sixteen-year old Charlotte de Montmorency. They are selected to show all sides of his character as it appeared in his correspondence with his successive mistresses, ministers, relatives, and companions in arms. In their graphic, breathless brevity they are a refreshing contrast to the tiresome verbiage of ordinary public documents.

A letter of three lines suffices to make joyful the heart of a victorious friend: "Tes victoires m'empêchent de dormir, comme anciennement celles de Miltiade Thémistocle. A Dieu, Givry, voilà tes vanités payées." If the king lost at play he simply wrote to Sully, "Mon ami, Je vous prie de faire rendre incontinent à ce porteur trois mille pistoles qu'il m'a prêtées, et que j'ai perdues"; but if he won, he delightedly put the money in his hat, exclaiming, "Je tiens bien ceux-ci, on ne me les dérobera pas, car ils ne passeront point par les mains de mes trésoriers." His description of the battle of Ivry is very characteristic of his rapid, concise style: "Monsr de La Noue, Dieu nous a bénis. Ce jourd'huy, quatorzième de ce présent mois, la bataille s'est donnée. Il a été bien combattu; Dieu a montré qu'il aimait mieux le droit que la force; la victoire nous a été absolue: l'ennemi tout rompu, les reitres en partie défaits, l'infanterie rendue, les Bourguignons malmenés, la cornette blanche et le canon pris, la poursuite jusqu'aux portes de Mantes." Only in his letters to his mistresses do sentiment and fancy lead him to somewhat longer letters, as in the beautiful description of the scenery at Maran, a description which so justly excited the admiration of Saint-Beuve; part, however, of the length of these longer letters is due to the vehement protestations of affection with which they close.

M. Nouaillac's explanatory notes are sufficiently brief and informing. His introductory sketch of Henry IV. as "le roi, l'homme de guerre, l'homme d'état, l'homme privé, et l'écrivain", is vivacious and enthusiastic, and also accords with the impression left by the king's own letters.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Studies in British History and Politics.* By D. P. Heatley, Lecturer in History, University of Edinburgh. (London, Smith, Elder, and Company, 1913, pp. xv., 219.) Mr. Heatley's volume consists of five essays. The first, Bacon, Milton, and Laud: Three Points of View, is a study of the ideas of these three on the proper relations of Church and State. The second, with the infelicitous title, An American-Independence Group, is in part a study of those statesmen of the American Revolution who had been connected with the University of Edinburgh, in part an analysis of the movement for independence. To contend for imperial unity seems to the author much broader-minded than to contend for constitutionalism, and therefore he seems somewhat to lament, as of late British writers are prone to do, the American drift toward independence. This is to forget that an imperial union was at that time certain to be badly managed. To be a great empire is inspiring, to be a badly managed portion of a great empire is not. Undertaking to manage for themselves, the Americans became a much greater empire than that of which in 1775 they were a part, and found abundant inspiration in a condition not involving union with Great Britain. The third essay, Some Marks of English History, is a discourse on the English habits of political action. The fourth, Politics as a Practical Study, is but to a slight extent historical. The fifth is a sensible appreciation

of Maitland. All these essays have many good thoughts, and all are profitable in suggesting or provoking further thinking, but the actual sum of new and original thought is less than the reader might imagine from the style, which is ambitious, labored, over-ingenious, at times even tortuous.

*Letters and Papers relating to the First Dutch War, 1652-1654.* Edited by C. T. Atkinson, Fellow of Exeter College. Volume V. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XLI.] (London, the Society, 1912, pp. xvi, 429.) This additional volume of the voluminous compilation begun by Mr. S. R. Gardiner and now edited by Mr. Atkinson consists of materials for the history of the war from May 2/12 to August 27/September 6, 1653. That is to say, it illustrates the battle of the Gabbard Shoal, the ensuing blockade of the Dutch coast, and the battle of July 30 and 31 (or August 9 and 10), the engagement in which Tromp met his death. The volume contains 188 documents. Half of them are from the State Papers, Domestic, and half of the remainder are translations of Dutch documents from the Rijksarchief at the Hague. Of the rest, the greater number are documents previously printed in Granville Penn's *Life of Sir William Penn* and elsewhere, while a dozen are derived from the Clarendon Manuscripts. As in previous volumes, we have despatches, letters, reports, lists, and other documents, and there are some fifty pages of introductory explanations. There is no index, and though no doubt one will be presented in the volume which concludes this formidable series, its absence is meantime a disadvantage, the five volumes thus far issued having been published at intervals from 1899 to the present time. We may expect that another volume will finish the series.

The two great battles to which most of these documents directly or more remotely relate are marked off from their predecessors as purely naval battles, in which merchant vessels under merchant captains no longer appeared, and in which the action of fleet on fleet was made the sole end, to the exclusion of commerce-destroying. Strategically therefore we are now in the period of modern naval warfare. For the development of modern naval tactics the evidence is less distinct. The Fighting Instructions issued by Blake, Deane, and Monck at the end of March had plainly opened a new period, but the present documents, expounded so admirably by Mr. Atkinson, go no farther than to show us some marks of progress in orderly fighting, such as the use of the line-ahead in squadronal and other subdivisions.

*The Political Philosophy of Burke.* By John MacCunn, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, University of Liverpool. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company; London, Edward Arnold, 1913, pp. vi, 272.) Professor MacCunn's volume is not an encyclopaedic treatise on Burke's political science, such as the nature of the subject might readily invite. It is, on the contrary, a series of genial essays on the capital topics which

engaged that great thinker's attention, such as theory itself, prudence, conservatism, the wisdom of our ancestors, toleration, religion and politics, government, rights, and democracy. With these subjects in mind, our author has gone through Burke's writings with evident care, and he has here set forth just those doctrines which illustrate the Whig philosopher's maturest judgment in such matters. Where there are contradictions (and there are many, for Burke wrote according to time and circumstance) the author has attempted to clarify and explain; where there are exaggerations (and there are many, for Burke was a man of great passion) our author has freely criticized. Nevertheless, the spirit of the volume is eminently sympathetic—even more generous in tone than Morley's classic apology; but this sympathy does not prevent the author from finding a place for radicals like Paine, or from showing very clearly how narrow on one side was Burke's vision. In a single paragraph our author sums up his final judgment: "We find in Burke's writings the presence of two things, and the absence of a third. We find an unfaltering faith in the presence of a 'Divine tactic' in the lives of men and nations. We find also an *apologia* such as has never been equalled, for the existing social and political system as it has come to be by the long toil of successive generations. What we do not find, and are fain to wish for, and most of all from a thinker to whom the happiness of the people was always paramount, is some encouragement for the hope that the 'stupendous Wisdom' which has done so much in the past, and even till now, will not fail to operate in the varieties of untried being through which the State, even the democratic State, must pass in the vicissitudes and adventures of the future" (p. 271). Each reader will view this judgment according to his predilections; but to many it will be the most damning doom which an author could pronounce. However that may be, the reviewer may truly say that Professor MacCunn's volume, marked by such clarity and conciseness, is just the book to put into the hands of the student who is seeking the intimate essence of Burke's political science.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

*Figures du Passé: Mirabeau.* Par Louis Barthou. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1913, pp. 323.) A new popular life of Mirabeau cannot be said to "meet a long felt want" in historical literature, even in French historical literature, for we already have two very good lives by Rousse and Mézières. But a life of Mirabeau by a French prime minister is as unique as a volume on Napoleon by a Rosebery and should give us an interpretation of the great Frenchman quite different, in some respects, from that found in the volumes of the two academicians. Although clearly the work of a ripe mind and of a statesman, the book is the product of an amateur in historical writing. The bibliography is incomplete, M. Barthou being acquainted only with material in the French language, and the account suffers in more than one particular because of the ignorance of the writer concerning what has been written on



Mirabeau in German, Dutch, and English. Although not fully acquainted with the Mirabeau literature, M. Barthou has contributed something of first-rate importance in the way of original material, some unpublished letters of Mirabeau. Here, *in extenso*, I have found letters hitherto known to me only in short printed extracts, the originals of which had disappeared. There are not many of them, to be sure, but they are important enough to distinguish this volume from all the other popular lives of Mirabeau. Additional value is given to the volume by the excellent full-page pictures of Mirabeau, of his father, of his wife, and of Madame de Nehra. The most striking illustration of all is the reproduction of the two-colored crayon, reproducing the wonderful death mask of Mirabeau. A last little artistic and sentimental touch is given to the volume by the reproduction on the title-page—in color—and as tail-pieces, of the seal made by Mirabeau for Sophie de Monnier and himself. To make the volume perfect in illustration but two things were lacking: the bust of Mirabeau at thirty and a portrait of Sophie de Monnier. Nearly two-thirds of the volume are devoted to the last five years of Mirabeau's life, not a good proportion, on general principles, but one not likely to call forth objections in this case, as the treatment of the work of Mirabeau in the National Assembly is the really valuable part of the book and may be read with profit even by those who know the sources of the period as well or even better than M. Barthou. Nowhere will be found a more just estimate of the tragic significance, both for Mirabeau and for France, of the decree of November 7, 1789, excluding the members of the assembly from the ministry. "It broke the only force capable of consolidating the revolution by moderating it. It was in truth that day and not the day of Mirabeau's death that 'the débris of the monarchy became the prey of factions' and that the revolution by terror won its first victory over the revolution by law." An "impassioned orator" and a "powerful realist", Mirabeau was "refused by destiny the rôle, between Richelieu and Bonaparte, fitted to his genius, hardly inferior to theirs".

FRED MORROW FLING.

*Les Clubs de Barbès et de Blanqui en 1848.* Par Suzanne Wassermann, Diplômée d'Études Supérieures d'Histoire et Géographie. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Moderne, publiée sous les Auspices de la Société d'Histoire Moderne, fascicule XII.] (Paris, Édouard Cornély et Cie., 1913, pp. xxii, 248.) The Revolution of 1848 was made in the name of the right of public meeting, and was followed immediately and naturally by a general and enthusiastic assertion of that right. This assertion took the form of clubs established on the very morrow of the revolution for the purpose of discussion and agitation. The number of these clubs increased rapidly. By the end of March there were 150 of them, and there is contemporary evidence tending to show that there were soon at least 450. Now that universal suffrage was the law of the land these clubs offered the new voters an easy opportunity to present

their views, to propose their remedies, and to exert their influence upon the course of events. They were all the more frequented as, owing to the economic crisis, many voters were out of work and possessed consequent leisure. Moreover the free expression of opinion was a new and pleasing distraction for many in that period of uncertainty, when the ordinary routine of life was impossible. This remarkable development of club activity early aroused the apprehension of the *bourgeoisie* who, after the June Days, were able to restrict this disconcerting right of public meeting. By a decree of July 28 this movement was practically brought to a close. It had lasted about four months. During that time every important or unimportant leader of advanced opinion had his club which served as a sounding board for his ideas.

The two chief leaders in this work of criticism and propaganda were Barbès and Blanqui, two Socialist Republicans, to whom the Revolution of 1848 brought a very fleeting release from long years of imprisonment for opinion's sake. Each had his club, whose organization and significance Mlle. Wassermann presents with conspicuous success in this monograph. The author's conclusion is that the rôle of Barbès and Blanqui has been exaggerated and distorted by historical writers. "Neither the one nor the other seems to have had a decisive action upon events." The famous *journées* of those turbulent months, the 17th of March, the 16th of April, and the 15th of May, were not their work, though they had a relation, which is carefully indicated, to each.

The history of the clubs of Barbès and Blanqui is important as throwing light upon the history of the Socialist movement of 1848. The weakness of the Socialists lay in the fact that they represented a small minority, that the mass of the people did not follow them, and that they had no practical measures to propose. But what contributed most to their speedy overthrow was their own hesitations and divisions.

This monograph is solid and minute in its research, clear and animated in its mode of presentation, and admirable in its critical power, which is shown both in the text and in the notes.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*The Taylor Papers: being a Record of Certain Reminiscences, Letters, and Journals in the Life of Lieut.-Gen. Sir Herbert Taylor, G.C.B., G.C.H.* Arranged by Ernest Taylor. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1913, pp. xii, 520.) Sir Herbert Taylor, the subject of this volume, had a varied official career, beginning about the time of the French revolutionary wars and extending through the reign of William IV. into that of Victoria. While his profession was the army, in which he served as military secretary to the Duke of York, and later, from 1828 to 1830, as adjutant-general of the forces, other employment brought him into close relations with the royal family through successive appointments as private secretary to George III., to Queen Charlotte, and to William IV.

It goes without saying that the papers left by one who saw so much

of the later Georgian era, both from the army office and from Windsor, ought to be of interest. But of these papers, the official memoranda, or the bulk of them, were destroyed. It is only from the remainder, consisting of rather colorless memoirs, of journals, and of letters not strictly official, that this volume has been compiled. So far as these illustrate Sir Herbert Taylor's personal career, they need scarcely be regarded. As furnishing material for the Georgian era, a few, scattered here and there, are not without a slight value, though they are really too miscellaneous in character to be brought within a general criticism. Among the memoirs, chiefly military, are references to specific operations of the British army, and also to its lack of organization during the French revolutionary wars. Some of the correspondence from India and the colonies reveals conditions of army service and promotions characteristic of the period. Letters from members of the royal family include one from the very limited correspondence of the Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV. A few of the letters received during the crisis of the First Reform Bill were quite worth printing; so also were others received after 1832, as for example—one defending the establishment of the church because of the patronage it offered the government of the day; another, from Lord Palmerston, explaining the nature of political consistency as understood by himself; and several on the burden of colonial and imperial military expenditure. But the absence of a subject-index destroys the usefulness of the volume for such special references.

Sir Herbert Taylor will be remembered as the author of a pamphlet replying to an article in the *Edinburgh Review* by Brougham attacking George III. and the royal family. It is remarkable and in many respects unfortunate that Taylor, who on this one occasion wrote from his official knowledge deprecating the Whig animadversions upon his royal patrons, should have left behind apparently no other papers which can be used even indirectly to counteract the alleged distortions of the Whig writers.

C. E. FRYER.

*The Governments of Europe.* By Frederic Austin Ogg, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Simmons College. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913, pp. xiv, 668.) Professor Ogg's volume has been prepared primarily as a text-book for use in college courses, and it may be well to consider the book in the light of the three considerations which, according to the preface, have mainly determined its content. The first consideration has been that of affording an opportunity for the comparative study of political institutions through a discussion of the governments of the minor as well as of the major countries of western and central Europe. Whereas the excellent work of President Lowell dealt with but five countries (or six if Austria-Hungary be counted as two) of Continental Europe, Professor Ogg, with greater space at his disposal it is true, discusses the governments of England, Germany, and

France, and more briefly Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal. Covering so much territory, the author must necessarily treat some governments with undue brevity, and has no space within which to trace out some of the comparisons which would have been fruitful. Perhaps if he had limited the geographical extent of his discussion, space might have been found for some chapters dealing comparatively with such subjects as, electoral systems, the varying aspects of parliamentary government, the relations between upper and lower houses, federal and unitary governments, and the relation of constitutions to ordinary legislation. In such general discussions the fundamental principles involved in the governments of some of the minor countries might have been presented without the necessity of discussing such governments in full; so, for example, might have been treated the electoral and party systems of Belgium. The book fails to guide in the very matter where the student most needs guidance, and if it be replied that the teacher may furnish this guidance, perhaps it may be sufficient to point out that the teacher is most apt to use the tools furnished him, and to try to do what cannot be adequately done—to cover substantially all the countries of Europe in a brief course.

With respect to his second consideration, that of taking into careful account the historical origins of the governments under consideration, the author has succeeded admirably. His historical discussions, though brief, are clear and satisfactory.

Professor Ogg's third consideration has been that of including in the book some treatment of political parties and of the institutions of local government; and here he has not succeeded so well. The pages devoted to local government are, in large part because of their compression, perhaps the least interesting parts of the book, and even as regards the more important countries present somewhat the appearance of a digest. In the accounts of political parties there is no close and interesting correlation between organization and practice such as one finds in Lowell's volumes.

After these criticisms, which relate primarily to the plan adopted by the author, it should be said, however, that Professor Ogg has produced a useful and important work, of value as a text-book for courses on comparative government and as a guide to anyone interested in the governments of the countries of western and central Europe. The volume is written in a clear and concise, but not highly interesting, style. There are some errors, but considering the amount of detail dealt with, the book is singularly accurate.

W. F. DODD.

*Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1702/3-1705, 1705-1706, 1710-1712.* Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, 1912, pp. xviii, 369.) All the journals in this volume are derived from the British Public Record Office, where manuscript copies transmitted from Virginia

are preserved, though the originals once kept in the colony have disappeared. They seem to have been printed very carefully, certainly have been printed very handsomely, with intelligent and sufficient introductions, almost no notes, and a good index. The use of record type for ordinary abbreviations is needless, and the time-worn solecism of "ye" for "the" is not to be approved. One or two volumes more, it may be expected, will extend the series back to its designated terminus in 1680, when the house of burgesses first achieved a separate existence by parting company with the council.

Three assemblies figure in the present volume: that of 1703-1705, with four sessions, that of 1705-1706, with one session, and that of 1710-1712, with two sessions. The first two were held in the building of the College of William and Mary, the last five in the new Capitol at Williamsburg. Both these buildings, by the way, are shown, the latter uncompleted, in drawings lately discovered in the university library of Bern, Switzerland, accompanying the journal of a Swiss traveller of about 1700. Fifty representatives of twenty-five counties made up each assembly, with a member for Jamestown in the last two, but as yet no representatives of Williamsburg or of the college. Peter Beverley was speaker of the first and third of these assemblies, Benjamin Harrison, jr., of the second. The governors were Colonel Francis Nicholson, Edward Nott, and Alexander Spotswood.

The period of the volume is almost precisely that of the War of the Spanish Succession. Military preparations and measures occupy much space. The subsidy toward the defense of New York, which Nicholson was instructed to urge, was never forthcoming, but a good deal was contributed toward the war, especially under the energetic Spotswood. A transaction which perhaps had more lasting importance, however, was the final passage, in June, 1706, of the revised statutes prepared by the committee of revisal appointed in 1699. These thirty-nine general laws, supplemented by a few others of general import passed in the sessions immediately succeeding, constituted Virginia's legal code till the revision of 1748.

The period was one in which exceptional harmony prevailed between burgesses and governor, and, with the exception of the last of these seven sessions, between burgesses and council. The volume does not embrace the records of great constitutional struggles; but it contains a rich mass of information on a great variety of Virginian topics.

*From Jefferson to Lincoln.* By William MacDonald. (New York, Henry Holt and Company; London, Williams and Norgate, 1913, pp. vi, 256.) The many admirable qualities of this little volume will certainly win for it a hearty welcome from a wide and varied constituency. Readers of the REVIEW, it may be safely assumed, will be greatly interested in it for its handling of the problem of condensing so large a subject into fifty thousand words and for the interpretation which, after an illuminating study of the Jacksonian epoch and much reviewing of the

recent literature, Professor MacDonald now puts upon the whole period.

Condensation has been achieved by the use of a terse, but clear and attractive, style, by giving to the years 1815 to 1850 only one-half of the book, and by close adherence to the narration of events. Only two short chapters, one for 1815, the other for the early fifties, are devoted to the description of the conditions which prevailed in the country. Doubtless the method has its justification. It involves, nevertheless, an inadequate treatment of the earlier years, even of the Jacksonian period, and the omission of essential descriptive matter which by a more evenly balanced treatment might have been included.

Professor MacDonald's treatment of his subject shows wide departure at many points from the views commonly found in the older works upon the period. A notable instance occurs in a striking paragraph on page 141, "It can no longer be said, as it has commonly been said, that slavery was the root of sectionalism. . . . Instead of sectionalism arising because of slavery, it would be truer to say that slavery persisted because of sectionalism." Yet the variation from the point of view of the older works is more a matter of details than of substance. The interpretation, taken as a whole, is conservative and even ultra-cautious about the acceptance of the results of recent special studies.

Constitutional growth, the history of political parties, and slavery receive the chief attention. Upon each of these topics an astonishingly large amount of well-arranged, accurate, and significant information is presented. The accounts of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the election of 1856, and the Dred Scott case are ample enough to warrant the criticism that portions of them might have been spared, along with some matters of minor importance, to make way for a more adequate treatment of the earlier stages of the Whig party, the economic and constitutional doctrines of the South, and the development and spread of the plantation system. A few maps, especially for the Mexican War, the territorial acquisitions, and the boundary questions would have added to the serviceability of the volume. The bibliographical note is excellent, but might have been much improved, without undue expansion, by the inclusion of a large number of the recent special studies.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*The Life of Thaddeus Stevens.* A Study in American Political History especially in the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. By James Albert Woodburn, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of American History and Politics, Indiana University. (Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1913, pp. 620.) While Mr. Woodburn has used the Stevens Manuscripts found among the McPherson papers in the Library of Congress, he does not profess that this volume is an adequate exposition of the results that may be obtained from a careful study of such material. This life, in fact, differs from those which have preceded it not so much in the material used as in the selection from that material. Mr. Woodburn's method has been to let Stevens tell his own story, and he has

presented it as Stevens himself did, that is chiefly in the form of public utterance. Fully 250 out of the 610 pages of text consist of extracts from or abstracts of Stevens's speeches, taken chiefly from the *Congressional Globe*.

The book, however, is no mere compilation, but the ripened study of a mature mind. The background is firm and true, and Stevens stands out against it, with his direct and pointed speech, clear and distinct as a silhouette. While Stevens's attitude towards slavery and reconstruction naturally claims the major portion of the space, his interest in education, and his democracy, which underlay his whole attitude from boyhood to death, receive due attention. The special interest of Mr. Woodburn, however, is in Stevens's financial views. To this subject he devotes chapters XI, XXI., and XXII., and he succeeds in clarifying Stevens's exact position from the misconceptions which have surrounded it. On this subject more than any other the author puts forward his own views, using the cudgels to support Stevens's proposals, and it is here that he makes his greatest contribution to the history of the period. It is a subject upon which one cannot as yet expect general agreement, but these chapters command the attention of students of finance and particularly of currency.

Mr. Woodburn's book is not an apology for Stevens, but he sympathetically sets forth Stevens's own apology. There are obvious dangers in letting a man tell his own story, but Stevens is one of those vigorous, self-sufficing characters, who excite in most minds opposition, rather than sympathy, and he deserves a chance to be heard in his own cause. He certainly makes a convincing case for his consistency and honesty. The main defects in such a method are its exclusions. On Stevens the man, including the question of his private morality, Mr. Woodburn fairly presents the evidence. The great lack is a study of Stevens the tactician. Few will accept in its full implications the statement that under Stevens's leadership, "The House following was free to act". While Stevens undoubtedly worked chiefly in the open, he did not rule the House by the tongue alone. One could wish for some discussion of his parliamentary methods and his handling of the machinery of congressional action.

The makeup of the book is unimpressive, and the index is valueless.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo.* [Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. XVI., edited by Frank H. Severance.] (Buffalo, N. Y., the Society, 1912, pp. xx, 508.) Few better ideas have ever occurred to the mind of a secretary of a city historical society than that which inspired Mr. Severance to make this book. His project was to preserve in permanent form all existing pictures of old Buffalo, 1820-1870 for the most part, and of its vanished buildings. More than 400 of his 508 pages are occupied with these reproductions. The earliest such picture known is "A View of the Lake and Fort Erie, from Buffalo Creek"

(London, 1811), but very few others are of earlier dates than 1820. The four hundred pictures represent, in the utmost variety, Buffalo, parts of Buffalo, and old churches, theatres, hotels, schools, factories, business blocks, residences, and so forth, which the marvellous growth of Buffalo in recent times has caused to be destroyed. Hardly any of them are beautiful, most of them exhibit to the full the marvellously complete and determined hideousness which marked American town architecture in the half-century named. Yet Mr. Severance's modest, pleasant letter-press convinces the reader, if he needs to be convinced, that the task was well worth performing, well worth the great pains he has expended in collection and elucidation. He has no illusions about the greatness of his Mantua, or the artistic quality of his material, but a manly sense that a community so important ought to take an interest in the details of its appearance in past times. It were much to be wished that such a book, executed with equal industry and intelligence, might be made for every one of our large cities before it is too late.

*A History of Muhlenberg County.* By Otto A. Rothert. (Louisville, Ky., John P. Morton and Company, 1913, pp. xvii, 496.) This book, it may be said in the outset, is not one of those commercial projects—one is tempted to say commercial frauds—so frequently put forth now-a-days as county histories, but has been written solely because of the author's interest in the subject and his desire to preserve the county's history from oblivion. The author has spent much of his time during the past seven years in gathering materials for the work, largely traditions and personal narratives. The official history of the county he has made but small attempt to relate. Official and other written records, although used to some extent, he has for the most part passed by, preferring to preserve first of all those more perishable materials which repose only in the minds of the oldest (or next oldest) inhabitants. An exception is the diary of Isaac Bard, 1848-1872, of which a considerable part is printed.

Muhlenberg, although not organized as a separate county until 1798, bears the name of a Revolutionary hero. The first settlers came into the region about 1784 and by the end of the eighteenth century the population was increasing rapidly. Many pages of the volume are occupied with accounts of the early settlements and with the personal history of the pioneers and their immediate descendants. There are also several extended sketches of persons prominent in the later history of the county. Naturally there are chapters descriptive of the mode of life at different periods, as there are also chapters on several phases of industrial life as well as upon the religious and educational history of the county. The part which men of Muhlenberg county took in the several wars is related at some length. A chapter of recollections of the Civil War is contributed by Mr. R. T. Martin. An appendix includes, besides a number of articles by other hands than the author's, a journal of a trip to New Orleans in 1803, by James Weir.



The book not only contains much that is of interest to the student of Kentucky history but is written in a pleasing style. An interesting feature is the illustrations, of which there are more than two hundred, largely pictures of historic places and buildings, taken by the author.

*University and Historical Addresses: Delivered during a Residence in the United States as Ambassador of Great Britain.* By James Bryce. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1913, pp. ix, 433.) It is commonly believed that the chief function of the ambassadors exchanged between Great Britain and the United States is to interpret their respective countries to the peoples to whom they are accredited. They are in a real sense the ambassadors not of sovereigns but of friendly nations. James Bryce has fulfilled this function in his six years' residence in the United States, but his greatest service to history has been in interpreting the American people to themselves. His *American Commonwealth*, published in 1888, if it did not cause it, was at least carried in on the first wave of the new interest in problems of government that has been characteristic of the last generation. No other ear than his has heard the confidential truth from so wide a range of friends. Probably no American politician has been so well informed upon the currents of American affairs as this quiet British scholar has been. And when he was sent to Washington as ambassador in 1907 there was a unanimous feeling that England had done her best. The speeches that are preserved in his new volume are no new *American Commonwealth*. They contain no novel facts and are never contributions to a profound scholarship. They are entirely non-political, from the necessities of the public office of their speaker; but their range of subjects shows the change in American intellectual currents since the publication of the *American Commonwealth*. Mr. Bryce could speak on only those topics upon which all Americans agree, yet we find him discussing history, law, the Constitution, the racial elements of the United States, art, literature, and university functions in a language that would have been incomprehensible in the days of James G. Blaine. He rarely uses the phrases of a perfunctory cordiality and he rarely flatters; he comments upon American democracy as less complete than that of England, and no man contradicts him; he criticizes the political practices of the United States as a colleague and an associate, never as a visitor or a stranger. His addresses are not particularly eloquent, and make no parade of dignity, but they are sound and sensible, and by their existence prove the general acceptance by the United States of notions that Lowell and Godkin and Schurz and Curtis despaired of ever seeing established. The optimism that, while opening one sore after another in 1888, found the United States still healthy and vigorous, endures in these speeches, and continues to find in the new United States proofs of the practicability of democracy.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.